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the shoulder. In late July harvesters came from other villages to help at least one-third of the families (the others harvested their own grain) to cut the grain with sickles and place the stalks in little piles. An old man, expert through years of practice, then made up the sheaves by tying together a bundle of stalks with the longest stalks taken from a previous sheaf. He used a round, pointed stick about fourteen inches long to make the grain compact and to tie the knot ingeniously.

Most of the grain was threshed by the hoofs of animals, usually horses, on the packed, earthen threshing floors near the house. The Karakachani, a band of Wallachians from the village of Yakoruda in the Rhodope Mountains, brought about fifty horses to the village at threshingtime. A peasant paid the equivalent of a dollar a day for the service of a team. The grain was placed in the center of the floor, near a pole to which the animals were hitched. Around and around the pole the horses walked until the rope's length was used up, whereupon they reversed their direction. Much grain was threshed by the machine owned by some of the wealthier men of the village, which was beginning to supplant the old-fashioned threshing floors. Some of the families still winnowed the grain by tossing it in the face of a stiff breeze, but many others had access to a separating machine in the neighborhood.

But this *smes*, or wheat and rye mixture, was not the only crop raised. Quite a few of the homes had garden patches, either in the yard or on the edge of the village, where peppers, mealy potatoes, cabbages, and tomatoes were grown. The white beans from Dragalevtsy were said to be the best in this part of Bulgaria.

Some families grew sunflowers in order to sell the seeds for oil. Pumpkins from the cornfields were prized for use in a soggy pumpkin pie called *banitsa*. Fruit raising was decidedly underdeveloped, but the trees that were properly cared for produced very well. Straw for the animals was frequently borrowed or purchased from the wealthier peasants who had a surplus from the threshing.

The crop second in importance to *smes*, however, was corn. Of considerable interest were the groups of women who hoed the cornfield first in one direction, and a week later in a different direction. Varying in number from three to fifteen, these groups did

462 more than merely chop weeds and loosen the soil; they also afforded
241 an opportunity for visiting and conversation. A day or two ahead
● 476 of time the woman needing help broached the matter to those whose
576 assistance she wanted in her cornfield. She was careful to include only those women who would work in a congenial manner, shunning those known to be gossipy or quarrelsome. At four in the morning on the day of the hoeing the hostess had to go to the home of each guest.

"Anka, Anka," she called above the barking of the menacing dogs. Anka came to the door to greet her walking alarm clock with a cheery *"Dobro utro"* ("Good morning"). Since Anka owed the visitor two days of work for having helped with her cornfield, she readily accepted, hurried about her household tasks, and was ready to leave for the fields by six o'clock. Young women received many invitations because they could better withstand the summer heat. Occasionally, young men, upon hearing that their sweethearts were to be invited, asked the hostess the night before to call them along with the others in the morning. In the field all day long they had a wonderful opportunity to hoe next to the girls of their choice and "to tell secret things and to speak what they shouldn't."

461 Each woman brought her heavy, semicircular hoe and her own
436 bread, but the hostess provided the vegetables and other food. Some-
576 times the people were paid in cash for their work, but more often the work was repaid in kind. The oldest maiden was "at the post." She apportioned the number of rows and kept the workers from getting in each other's way. She set the pace as the workers moved in a line, side by side, across the field. Her word was supreme, and even the hostess kept quiet, although she might think the girl was giving poor directions. The hostess watched the time and told the group when to stop working for the three meals she served. The girl "at the post" gave the signal to resume work, but she did not urge others to work until she saw that the group sentiment favored it. If one woman was not ready to start, the others began anyway. But the niceties of etiquette were always observed: the hostess, who was profiting from the work, invited the group to stop to eat; a guest, who was directing the group, rather than the hostess, suggested that they take up work once more.

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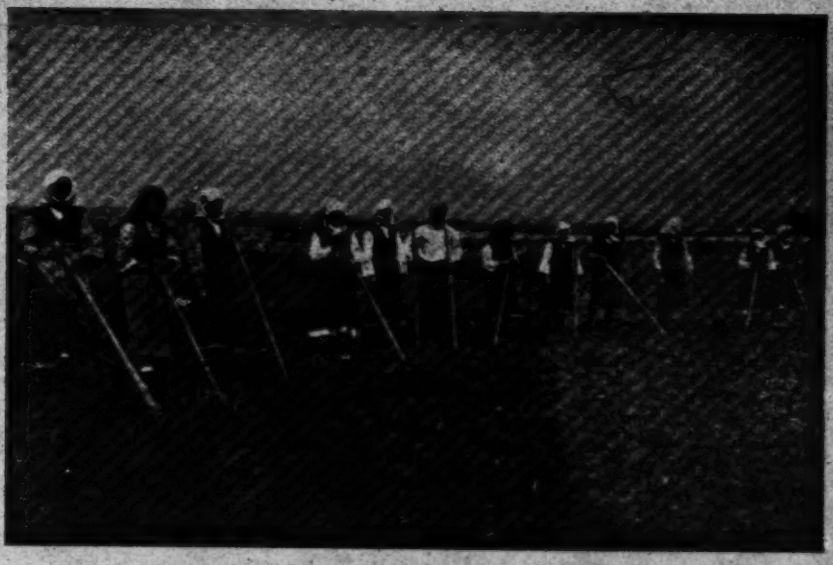

"The cornhoeing groups . . . also afforded an opportunity for visiting and conversation." *See page 46.*

591

"The patriarchal system . . . won out" (a father and three married sons living together in a one-room house). *See page 62.*

[Facing p. 49]

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571 521 came together without an invitation. If it was a workday, a few women of the neighborhood gathered in one of the yards to spin, sew, or knit. If it was a holiday, they simply talked. The village women spoke of it as getting together "to laugh, to be merry." The women gathered in twos, threes, or more, almost entirely on a neighborhood basis. If relatives were in the neighborhood, they were included, but because they were neighbors, not relatives. Seldom did relatives from other sections of the village attend. Among some women it was the practice to go only when invited, however informally. As one woman said:

"We take our work along. If there is anything to eat, we eat. Age makes no difference. It is seldom that an unmarried girl participates in a group with married women, because the married women talk about things which a girl should not be permitted to hear. A girl would be allowed to stay with the women only if the discussion is not of a kind bad for her." She went on to add that the young and old people customarily did not mix in conversation. "The old have little to say which interests the young, and then they begin to give advice and the young people run away."

I met five women varying in age from thirty-three to sixty-six talking one Sunday on the street corner. Some of the women had taken off their shoes and were standing in the brook beside the road. This group had a decided neighborhood basis. When I asked how these five women happened to get together, this was the explanation:

"Slavina came to ask Geny about a sick neighbor across the street. Maria saw them talking and came over to hear what the news was. Stenna, who lives up the street, also came, and after her the other Maria."

They had been talking there for almost an hour before I came and were still talking an hour after I left, as I saw on my return to the College. Since it was Sunday they were doing no handwork, but said that often during the week they gathered to help one another spin, hoe corn, and harvest. One said to me, "We live together." Even in the wintertime they went around to visit, to inquire if the friends had enough wood to see them through the winter, if the cow was still sick, how much the taxes had been. Of all the women Geny

● [476]

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did the most talking. The women found it difficult to say which one helped the others most, because "this depends so much upon one's special knowledge of cooking, caring for the sick, and sewing." Each woman was expert in a different line, but all were willing to help in any way.

The distinction between age groups broke down when the group was hard at work, as the work was then more important than the flow of gossip. In general, the gossiping groups got together more frequently in the summertime and on Sundays. Women found their chief recreation with women, and men with men, though the men said they needed the stimulation of tavern society.

This willingness of the men to spend money for recreation and to limit their wives to the questionable joys of gossip illustrated the common saying, "Bulgaria is a man's country." A Dragalevtsy peasant saw nothing strange in the sight of a man riding a donkey while his wife trudged along behind carrying their purchases home from market. Or if a man returned alone from market, having ridden all the way in his wagon, his wife, tired from a day in the field, went out to carry in his things, saying, "He's weary and needs my help." She was always careful to make no queries about the day's activities, although she might be bursting with curiosity to know what had happened at market. She went about her work and waited until he was comfortably fed and settled, knowing full well that then she would have a complete report. Usually her husband made himself out to be the hero of each little episode, but "men are like that," she would say.

The well trained wife always deferred to her husband. If ever I asked a question in the presence of both, the woman turned her eyes to see what response her husband made. If he made a gesture as though to say, "You go ahead and answer," then she began to talk, becoming silent whenever her husband wished to interject any comments.

What was even more conclusive proof that Bulgaria was a man's country, and certainly that Dragalevtsy was a man's village, was the obedience of women to their husband's command. I asked thirty wives in the course of my family interviews:

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441 596 [178] In Dragalevtsy, therefore, familism had yielded some ground to commerce. People did make occasional purchases in the village and in Sofia. They talked more and thought more about money. They even valued it more highly than a generation ago, but the basis of their economic life remained self-subsistent, with an emphasis upon goods, not cash.

●476 596 Co-operatives had also come to Dragalevtsy. In a very real sense village life itself was a co-operative enterprise, although it did not possess the specific characteristics of an economic co-operative. The large joint family, which has been widely prevalent throughout the world, also had many elements of the co-operative which have been maintained, at least in the sentiments of the people, even though the family group has become individualized and smaller.

Self-subsistent peasant farmers are accustomed to working together when something needs to be done. Theirs is, after all, a co-operative way of life. They also know that their own hard work and their own planning are responsible for whatever success they achieve. They are suspicious of outsiders who seek to organize them, and are fearful that any tie-up with the business interests outside the village means loss rather than gain. They are not accustomed to using money to make more money, although they know well enough what it means to pay interest on borrowed money.

[369] [423] Agricultural co-operatives often gain adherents more quickly when there is a feeling of distinction or distrust between city and the country people. This is because co-operatives have been identified in such places with the agrarianism which unites the peasants. The profit motive of capitalism is linked, in the minds of many villagers, with the urban businessman, in spite of the fact that the villager who owns his land is also a capitalist. Perhaps it is this idea which Americans find hardest to grasp in their evaluation of peasant Europe. Land is not something to be bought and unfeelingly sold for money. It is rather a means of livelihood, an extension of oneself and one's family.

476 As the merchant groups in the villages are few and insecure, the co-operatives do not have the opposition of vested interests which they face in a more highly developed economy. I realized from the beginning that co-operatives had made much less headway in Dragalevtsy

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than in many other Bulgarian communities. The secretary of the General Union of Bulgarian Agricultural Cooperatives explained: "The farmers live near the city and prefer to market their goods themselves rather than through the medium of co-operatives. They find that they get higher prices in the Sofia bazaar than they would receive from co-operatives." 476●

Nevertheless, the three co-operatives represented in Dragalevtsy gave me some insight into the reasons for success and failure of those which did get off to a start. The co-operative which had made most progress in Dragalevtsy was a purely local affair which arose to meet a definite need. In some respects it was more like a corporation than a co-operative, but it was a "combining together" to get something done.

One of the richer families in the village used to spend twenty-five days threshing its grain with horses. As a result, the family began to think of using a machine to do the work. The idea incubated until Trayko Danev decided to take the initial plunge and persuaded his relatives to plunge with him. Two other men joined them in the purchase of a threshing machine in 1930. Their purpose was to thresh their own wheat and, if possible, thresh the wheat of others for a fair return. The first years of the ring's existence, when the price of wheat was high, were the best years. Between 1935 and 1937 the prices were so low that the group just managed to cover its expenses. However, because of their 400,000 leva ($4,878 at 1937 exchange rate) investment, the men did not think of giving up the ring. 476 243

The structure of this group was simple. Annually, a president, a treasurer, and a manager were elected to control the operations of the ring. The manager, who had technical training, received a salary. Two workers and a machinist were employed from outside and were paid a percentage of the wheat threshed. In 1935 they threshed the wheat of fifty-five farms, including that of the original ten partners. A written agreement existed among all members, who paid in wheat, which was sold for a sum to be divided among the members.

The familistic background of this group was interesting. The originators were all members or cousins of the Danev family except two rich landowners living in the center of the village, who were close friends of the Danevi. After four of the original partners died, 596 476 243

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596 their sons or sons-in-law succeeded to the control of their shares. The
476 five Danevi outnumbered the others, forming a unit around which
243 clustered three other members. There was some friction whenever meetings were held, but the minority was easily suppressed by the majority.

Most of the group considered membership an honor, symbolizing wealth and importance. Generally the village approved its existence, as shown by the increasing number of families who sought its services at threshing time.

476 Twenty-one Dragalevtsy men also belonged to the Animal Hus-
234 bandry-Dairy Cooperative, with headquarters in Sofia. This group had a twofold aim: (1) to enable members to get animal feed on credit and more cheaply; (2) to develop a milk distributing center. Though Dragalevtsy members did not have regular meetings in the village, most of them attended the annual meeting held in Sofia at which the reports of the officers of the co-operative were read. Before this annual meeting the Dragalevtsy men got together in the village and agreed on common action at the Sofia meeting. Dragalevtsy had one representative on the Executive Committee and one on the Control Committee. These men kept the villagers informed as to the condition of the co-operative. Two or three Dragalevtsy people had resigned, recently saying that "there were hidden matters." Most of the men who still belonged said that their membership entitled them to cheaper feed for their animals. I asked ten of the members why they belonged to the co-operative:

"I get cheaper feed through the co-operative."

"I joined in order to work collectively; to have a central depot for milk."

"The co-operative gives credit for food at a lower price."

The agricultural crisis through which Bulgaria had been passing reflected itself in the life of this co-operative. With the hard times, peasants said they did not have enough ready cash for their dues, and so dropped out. However, one could not consider this a true village organization because its physical basis was Sofia, and there was no formal organization operating in Dragalevtsy as a local.

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In 1934 the Association for the Insurance of Horses and Cows was organized in the village with the help of the veterinary doctor stationed there at that time. He was acting under the guidance of the Bulgarian National Cooperative Bank. The idea back of the association was to make it possible for peasants to obtain additional credit, since no credit could be extended by the bank on uninsured animals. Insured animals were considered better collateral than land and were allowed a greater percentage of money in proportion to value. When the organization was first founded, the fifteen or sixteen charter members entered because they were in favor of insurance. The seventeen members who joined later did so because they needed to insure their animals to get a loan, regardless of their attitude toward insurance.

In the normal life of this organization almost no difficulties were encountered. The members used the schoolhouse for the annual meeting, which was open to all outsiders. There was an executive council, a control committee, and a committee for the evaluation of animals. A president was elected every year and a treasurer every three years. Some of the committee members were changed each year. If a farmer wished to join the association, the proper committee appraised his animals and insurance was assessed at the rate of 4 per cent of the total value of the animal.

The conservatism of the peasants prevented any rapid growth of such an organization. As one peasant, not a member, explained: "I haven't joined because I feel that here we have good air, good food, and good water for our animals, and therefore they aren't as subject to diseases as are the animals nearer Sofia. God is kind."

A few years ago a private insurance association was organized which ended unfortunately for the investors. This failure was cited by some people as an additional reason why they should not join the present association, though it was backed by the Co-operative Bank.

In order to get a better idea of the relationships among the members and between the members and the officers of the Insurance Association, I interviewed fifteen of the thirty people registered and found that:

1. Friendship played little part in determining who should become members.

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2. The reasons for joining were varied:
   a. "I have six cows. Need help in case a cow dies."
   b. "I wanted to get money from the bank."
   c. "The veterinary doctor enrolled me when he organized the association."

3. All members were satisfied with the officers who represented them.

4. The relations with the Co-operative Bank in Sofia had been cordial. Once a year the bank sent out a commission to see that everything in the village was in order; a commission also came out in case of the death of an animal.

The Insurance Association illustrated the way many village organizations arose in Bulgarian villages. The idea of the organization originated in Sofia, was put into effect by a State employee, and members were recruited from those who thought that their interests would be served by belonging. A glance at the list of members, ranging in age from twenty-four to sixty, showed that they were among the most enterprising in the village. The organization would doubtless have been only half as large had it not been for the ruling of the bank which required insurance on any animals put up as collateral. Since the association did not attempt to teach the peasants how to feed or stable the animals, it was missing a real opportunity for further service.

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The traditional economy of Dragalevtsy had therefore been subjected not only to the incursion of commerce with its emphasis upon money, but also to the formation of co-operatives to meet some specific needs of a group of interested persons. In addition there was a concerted effort throughout Bulgaria by the national government to raise the peasants' plane of living. Some of this activity found expression in Dragalevtsy, largely through the initiative of the county agent or *agronom* who was concerned with the improvement of agriculture and livestock. Since he had to care for almost a score of other villages, his visits to Dragalevtsy were few and far between, so the peasants were quite correct in saying that little was being done for the improvement of agriculture in the village. While the county *agronom*

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gave lectures at intervals during the year and consulted with some farmers regarding their work, he could not initiate and carry through a thorough program without the help of a local *agronom*.

As far as livestock was concerned, there were two boars and one village bull for breeding purposes. The law required that each *Obshtina* take charge of its own breeding animals. There was supposed to be a local breeding association, but the mayor was the only member. A fund was being collected for a village barn. Meanwhile, the animals were boarded out to various peasants who received a fixed sum. Improvement of livestock was more easily managed through the control of male animals, which were inspected each spring. Those of bad quality were castrated (the veterinary's fees for this work being the following: pig, 10 leva; donkey, 20 leva; horse, 40 leva). If the animal died, the State paid for the loss. I happened to visit the village at the time the veterinary doctor was making his inspection of horses. Before he could begin his thorough examination, the representative of the *Obshtina* looked over the bills of sale to be sure each man had his own horses. This bill of sale cost 3 per cent of the amount exchanged. If the horses had been foaled at the home of the present owners, the men presented certificates of ownership which they had previously obtained from the mayor for fifteen leva. If the doctor found that a horse was ill, a second examination was made two weeks later. If the animal was still sick, State officials bought the horse for a small sum and killed it. A fine ranging from two hundred to five hundred leva was charged if the horses were not brought for the examination. While a national program for home demonstration work had been prepared, Dragalevtsy so far had received few benefits.

Recreation, like economic life, had been subjected to efforts at organization. The people of Dragalevtsy customarily associated liquor with holidays and leisure time. In the earlier days there was little organized opposition to the use of alcohol, but by 1922 considerable public opinion had been aroused against the *kruchmi*. On January 1, 1922, all the taverns of the village were closed by order of the Village Council, which thought that the drink shops were a social evil. The village was very much stirred up, most of the men siding with the tavern keepers and the women with the Village Council. The tavern

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taxes or to attend some social function, the villagers say, "Oh, he's from the *mahala*." In this sense, therefore, they are thinking not at all of any family relationship between the people of that settlement.

NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS: THE *Susedstvo*. For a clearer picture of social interaction we must turn to a smaller unit than the *mahala*: namely, the *susedstvo*[6] which is a complex of houses whose yards adjoin or face each other across a narrow street. The peasants say, "Without neighbors life is impossible," or "God help those who have bad neighbors" and they are thinking of next-door neighbors. Bulgarian writers especially in reminiscing about their childhood tell of the free interchange of goods between neighbors. In any time of need, whether it be of food, garments, or work, the neighbors were always called upon to render aid. That is still true today, though there are two tendencies setting in: first, many villagers prefer to go to relatives living elsewhere in the village for aid rather than to go to a next-door neighbor; second, nowadays neighbors when they lend live more in expectation of financial remuneration. In other words, the commercialistic spirit is pervading even neighborhood contacts. Some villagers feel this more keenly than others.

The *susedstvo* therefore, like the *mahala*, is a geographical unit which is the scene of intense social interaction, though this interaction takes place through ordinary individuals and groups rather than through the *susedstvo* itself, thought of in terms of a psychical entity. It is an interesting fact that personal friendships and preferences sometimes carry women outside of the neighborhood for even the ordinary needs of life. For example, Anna may live next to Gorka but may prefer the companionship of Mara who lives four or five houses down the street. Sometimes this friendship goes to such an extent that Anna will draw water from a more distant fountain in order to meet there with Mara.

However, no number of exceptions can do away with the fact that women who are neighbors depend greatly upon one another. Not only in times of crisis such as birth, death, or marriage are the neighbors' services invaluable, but are especially useful in varying the tedium of everyday life. If a woman has half an hour to spare, she is apt to pick up her knitting or spinning and go to a neighbor's house for a chat while doing her handwork. After a while, visits of such a sort become so habitual that a woman would find it difficult to get along without them. It must be remembered that the Bulgarian woman has no magazines and no radio to entertain her at home. Her only source of entertainment is to share some other neighbor's company.

Newcomers to a neighborhood (and these are usually women) have to go through a period of assimilation. Not only must they bear the embarrassing

[6] Many of the peasants still use for neighbor the word *komshia*, a Bulgarized form of the Turkish *komu*.

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APPENDIX VI

SOCIOMETRIC WORK WITH A BULGARIAN WOODCUTTING GROUP[1]

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In the late autumn, when all other farm work has been completed, the villagers of Dragalevtsy[2] turn their attention to the gathering of the winter's supply of wood. The scene of their activity is a wooded section of the mountainside, three or four miles from the village, determined in advance by a forester's decree. Most of them toil gladly, since all winter long they must continually feed the wood into the ever-devouring gullet of the sheet-iron stove standing in the center of the living room. No twig is too small to find its way there.

It would be wrong to imagine that the villagers were doing any lumbering, even on the simplest scale. Most of their activity centers around the task of cutting down brush as high as a man's head, or of felling trees so small that a pair of hands could include the trunk in its grasp.

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I. Membership of Group. There are ten wood-gathering groups in the village. Before 1931 individual families went to the section of the forest opened up for the people of Dragalevtsy and took all the wood they could get in the time allowed. This system had two chief faults, according to Yurdan Chalukov, the assistant mayor at the time: in the first place, the members of the political party supporting the mayor learned beforehand at what time the forest would be opened to the villagers and stole the march on the others by going there on the day assigned, although the other villagers did not learn about the opening until two or three days later, by which time the best wood had been collected.

The second chief fault with this system was that families with more able-bodied workers gathered the most wood, although they paid perhaps less taxes than those who got less. In order to eliminate these evils, a new system which is peculiar to Dragalevtsy alone was inaugurated. The near-by villages, for instance, still use the older method of permitting each family to "grab while

[1] This article appeared in *Sociometry: A Journal of Interpersonal Relations*, II, October, 1939, pp. 58-68. Reprinted by permission.

[2] Dragalevtsy, a village of 1,669 inhabitants, located four miles from the outskirts of Sofia, Bulgaria's capital city. The peasants of that region are generally regarded as very conservative by educated Bulgarians.

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the grabbing is good." Now, the *Obshtina*[1] divides the village into ten groups; the part of the forest made available to the villagers is likewise divided into ten sections; each group thus has a limited section in which to work. The *Obshtina* usually divides the village according to neighborhoods, though sometimes one family from a larger neighborhood is assigned to the group of a smaller neighborhood in order to make the number of families average about thirty for each group. The only case of this kind in Group X, which we are studying, is that of Krustan Arnaudaki, who lives across the river from the others.

The *Obshtina* lists the names of the family heads in making out its divisions; theoretically these family heads are supposed to go collectively to get the wood for their households. In other words, they are supposed to constitute the group. However, variations occur. Some of the family heads are too old or too busy or too lazy to go. In that case they do one of three things: (1) they send their married sons who live with them, these sons performing the work more capably than the older men could; (2) they hire village youths from other neighborhoods to go and gather the wood for them; or, (3) they send weaker members of their own family, such as younger boys, the older girls, wives, or—in the case of one lazy man—a mother.

Thus, in reality, the group of wood-gatherers varies from day to day as regards the actual personnel of those working in the forest. We might say that most of those working there are family heads or able-bodied married sons, though mixed with them are women, girls, and younger boys. Before sending a substitute the family head is supposed to get permission from the group leaders. The failure to do this results in many quarrels and, as one leader says, "makes a man quarrel with his best friend."

The reason why the presence of women and children is frowned upon lies not so much in the objection to women and children working, as it does to the fact that women and children cannot do as much work in a day as a man. Since all the cut wood is piled into thirty different piles, one for each family, and the piles later distributed by lot, those who work hard each day get no more wood than those who do less work or who send weaker substitutes.

The question arises as to the classification of this type of group. On the basis of admission to membership, we can conclude that it is chiefly involuntary since the family heads are assigned by the *Obshtina* and since the family head can order members of his family to replace him in case he does not care to go. Only in the case of outsiders gathering wood for pay does the group seem voluntary. The group is secondary as far as function is concerned, but partakes of certain primary group characteristics when we notice that the *Obshtina*

[1] *Obshtina*—used here in the sense of the local governmental unit under the direction of a mayor appointed from Sofia.

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313 usually divides the village up according to neighborhoods. Thus we have many
476 persons accustomed to associate as neighbors interacting along economic rather
571 than social lines.

II. Duration of Group. The group is temporary, since the *Obshtina* lists have varied from year to year. However, for thirty days the wood-gathering continues, halted in bad weather but energetically pursued in good weather, even on Sundays. During this period there is constant interaction between the members of the group, who get to know the working qualities of the others in an intimate way. The most exciting day of all is the day when the wood has been piled up, the piles numbered, and the family heads take their turn drawing lots for the piles. It is then that the whole family comes in the ox-cart to haul the wood home. There is joy as though a harvest were being gathered. Each family usually takes home from four to five ox-carts full of wood, most of which consists of branches or scrub-growth. After the wood is stacked in the yard, the group is ended; its existence is terminated by the completion of the job it set out to do.

313 III. Structure of Group (Relationship). With thirty individuals,
476 unequally divided as to ability or inclination to work, there must be some sort
571 of leadership to keep the group functioning effectively. The nominal leaders
157 are two men appointed by the *Obshtina*, one as superintendent and the other as his assistant. Leaders appointed by the *Obshtina* usually serve even though they profess an unwillingness to do so. Some members of Group X point out that those who do the most talking against the way the present leaders discharge their functions are themselves loath to accept the responsibility if it is offered to them. The leaders of Group X this year were Stoyanche Chalukov and his god-son (almost his equal in years) Yurdan Chalukov.

The leaders of all ten groups gather on an appointed day to visit the forest with the forest policeman, who shows them how the forest has been divided into ten sections. The leaders then draw lots to see which section will fall to their particular groups. On the day of the visit this fall neither leader of Group X went because each one thought, or at least hoped, that the other leader would go. It so happened that Group X got what its members considered the worst part of the forest, though the leaders maintain that their absence had nothing to do with the section allotted. Upon seeing the state of things, the leaders of Group X went to the mayor and asked that some re-distribution be made on the grounds that the forest had not been equally divided. As such re-distribution seemed out of the question, the mayor suggested: "You go ahead and cut down the wood in your section, and the priest and I will come and visit the forest and see whether people in other sections have bigger piles

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than you. If they do, we'll re-distribute them." But the mayor and the priest never made this visit with the result that the members of Group X have nothing but complaints as consolation.

The duties of the leaders are burdensome. They must decide whether the weather permits work in the forest or not; they must accept or reject some family head's proposal for substitution; they must argue with those who do not work well; they must direct the making of the piles and the equal distribution of the wood among these piles; furthermore, they must keep a record of those who come to work and those who do not. The only authority vested in them is the right to report to the mayor the name of any man who they think should not be given any wood for failure to do his share of the work. However, no such instance occurred this past year.

Quite often a group has a formal structure in addition to the actual structure. This formal or theoretical structure corresponds to the plan of a house; the actual structure corresponding to the shape, relationship of the parts, etc., which may be quite different from the original plan in even so definite a field as architecture.

The woodcutting or wood-gathering Group X has two leaders appointed by the *Obshtina*, under whom the family heads are supposed to work. This is the plan, but we notice that there are variations since many family heads send substitutes. Our first problem is to see whether the appointed leaders are the actual leaders: that is, to see if the plan of the group corresponds with the structure as we discover it.

In order to accomplish this I followed Moreno's method as explained in his book, *Who Shall Survive?* namely, to ask each member of the group which five men he preferred and which five he would eliminate if he were choosing a group of his own with direct reference to one activity—the gathering of wood, and with no interest at all in the question of the friendship involved.

Each of the family heads on the *Obshtina* list furnished us with the information desired. Where some family heads had sent substitutes, we interviewed the substitutes instead. A few people, neither full-time substitutes nor family heads, who worked in the forest from time to time in the place of someone who stayed away were interviewed if they were mentioned twice by others. The only exceptions were numbers 19 and 30, both of whose fathers we interviewed. Some family heads who did not go to the forest were mentioned either as desirable or undesirable, and their names were included on the list which formed the basis for the diagrams.

There was no way of cross-checking to see whether the answers were correct; nor was there any reward to hold up to them in order to identify their emotions with their answers. In this respect, one might consider the method open to question. However, each man was told: "There will be no reward for you in answering these questions, nor will any harm come to you as a

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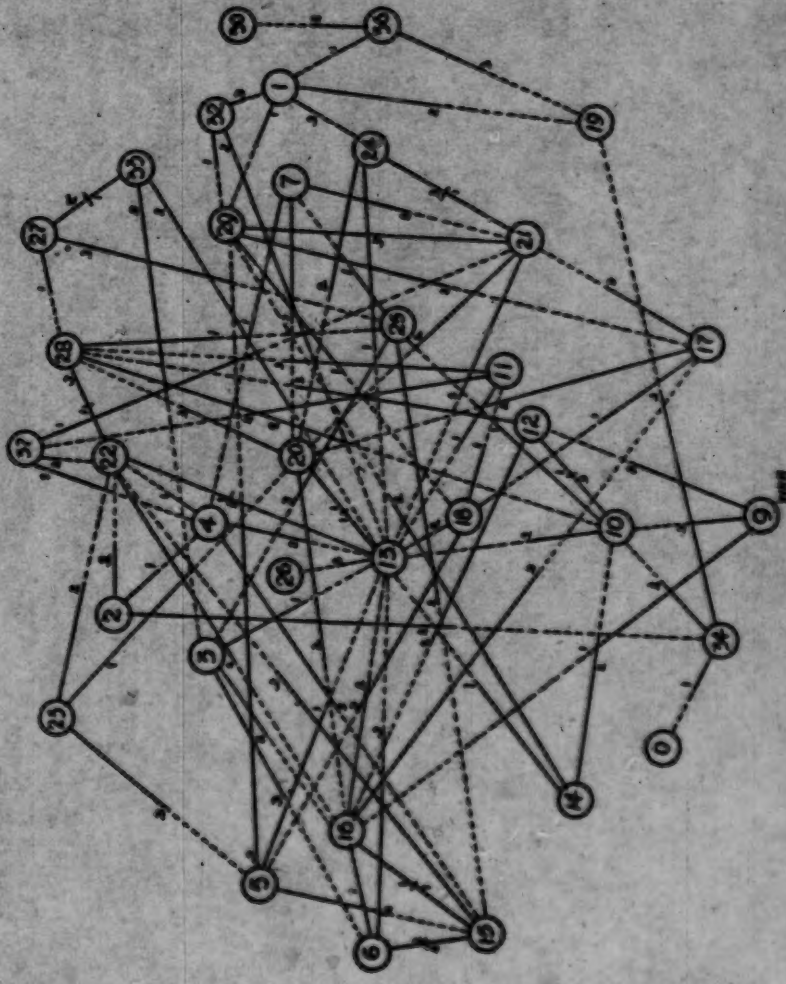

SOCIOGRAM I. Woodcutting Group, Dragalevtsy, Bulgaria—34 men, first three choices

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result. If you answer, it will be simply out of kindness and because of your desire to help me." Such an approach met with a splendid response, since practically all of the villagers knew that a "book" was being written about their village and were eager to help in its preparation. I am inclined to believe that in most cases this desire to help on the part of those interviewed has an emotional content, though it is something hard to measure or estimate.

While these interviews took place over a two-day period during the Christmas holiday recess, I visited the village several times when the wood-gathering was taking place to make family interviews and received considerable incidental material about wood-gathering which seemed to be on everybody's mind. Group X was selected by chance. Since the groups were all equal in size there was no reason to choose any one more than another for the study of the group *per se*. (See Sociogram I.)

An analysis of Sociogram I, which is based on the first three choices of each man, shows us how weak is the leadership of the two men appointed by the *Obshtina*—namely, numbers 4 and 7. At no time do they come out as important leaders but this may be due to conflict situations which arose between them and group members during the course of the wood-gathering. The predominant choice is 13, a hard-working retired railroad man, who is close-mouthed and has the reputation of "minding his own business." He was mentioned 15 times: 6 firsts, 6 seconds, and 3 thirds. This sociogram shows that when the mayor appointed the leaders he did not consider the same qualities which the peasants themselves thought essential. He appointed men who had been former political figures on the assumption that they could also lead capably in the task of woodcutting.

The other leader individuals besides 13 are 10, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 28. An interesting concentration of leadership is shown by the reciprocal bonds existing between some of these eight leader individuals: namely, 15-16, 13-20, 13-22, 22-28. (Notice again the strong position of 13.) The leaders also have the following reciprocal bonds with non-leader individuals: 10-12, 15-6, 21-24. That is to say, every leader individual has at least one reciprocal bond, while three of them have two reciprocal bonds—the majority of these being with other leader individuals. *Furthermore, there is only one other reciprocal bond in the whole group in which a leader does not figure*—namely, 27-33.

Perhaps the quadrilateral 13-20-28-22-13 sums up the concentration of leadership best of all. The only gap is the failure of 28 to reciprocate the choice of 20. But both 28 and 20 are joined by reciprocal bonds to 22 and 13 respectively, who in turn are connected reciprocally. This, it seems to me, demonstrates the value of a sociogram in an analysis of group leadership, for in no other satisfactory way could this quadrilateral be illustrated and its implications manifested.

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WORK-SHEET FOR SOCIOGRAM I

Individual Number	Choice	First	Second	Third
1	–	29	19	24
2	–	4	34	22
3	–	13	16	6
4	–	22	13	15
5	–	13	15	29
6	–	16	15	13
7	–	4	21	20
8	Did not go.	Sent Number 4 instead		
9	–	16	12	10
10	–	25	13	12
11	–	12	37	28
12	–	10	28	16
13	–	20	22	26
14	–	13	10	29
15	–	16	6	22
16	–	15	13	17
17	–	18	20	21
18	–	11	13	5
19	Did not go.			
20	–	13	16	28
21	–	24	20	13
22	–	28	16	13
23	–	29	22	5
24	–	13	20	21
25	–	7	15	3
26	Did not go.	His brother, 33, went instead		
27	–	28	33	25
28	–	25	10	22
29	–	18	17	21
30 and 31	Did not go.			
32	–	29	13	1
33	–	27	13	3
34	–	outsider	10	19
35	Did not go.	No. 3 went for him		
36	–	1	30	19
37	–	21	22	4

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IV. Effect of Kinship on Choices. Twenty-seven of the thirty-four individuals comprising this group are related to some other individual in the group.[2] Therefore, the question naturally arises as to the influence of such relationship upon the choices that the men made. Sociogram II, on the following page, shows seven clusters, each cluster made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Of course, some of the individuals within a cluster are only distantly related because the joint-family names in Dragalevtsy have a place connotation in addition to the one of relationship. But just the same, the village usually thinks of the Pachevi or the Chalukovi as a definite group in the community bound together by kinship as well as geographical proximity. The sociogram also shows the choices made by each individual for other individuals in the same cluster. A few in-law relationships are not shown in this sociogram, but an examination of the data showed them to be relatively unimportant in this woodcutting group.[4]

I was interested in my analysis of the group to see what effect a feeling of insecurity on the part of an individual might have upon his choice of a relative. The best measure of this feeling of insecurity seemed to be the failure to receive favorable votes. It does seem significant that every individual[5] shown on Sociogram II who received only one or else no favorable votes from the group at large selected some relative, with whom he naturally felt on more intimate terms. When an individual received as many as two votes from the group at large, then the chances were about fifty per cent that he would name a relative among his first three choices. Of course, the unwanted individual does not know definitely the opinion, expressed on the questionnaire, which the general public has for him, but in a face-to-face society like Dragalevtsy every individual has a rather clear picture of his social status. This was illustrated forcibly when 23, who received the largest number of negative votes, refused to name any individuals which he would reject from a woodcutting group of his own formation. He co-operated in naming those he would like (two of the first three being relatives), but lacked the hypocrisy necessary to name any others as being undesirable; he knew where he stood in the opinion of the community.

Not only was I interested in the position of the person choosing relatives but also in the position of the relatives chosen. I wondered, for instance, if relatives out of kindness or a sense of loyalty would list some kinsman whom the group at large might reject. This did not prove to be the case because only one person named by a kinsman was not listed by someone outside the

[4] The *svatovshtenie*, or in-law relationship, is very important in Bulgarian villages—so much so that two brothers cannot marry two sisters, since the second brother by marrying a sister-in-law would be marrying a relative, something taboo.

[5] The Voynishki (Numbers 36 and 37) are exceptions here, but since they are not on speaking terms one would not expect them to choose each other.

[2] [This refers to a woodcutting group studied by the author, See pp. 250-256; Category 116 -- Analyst]

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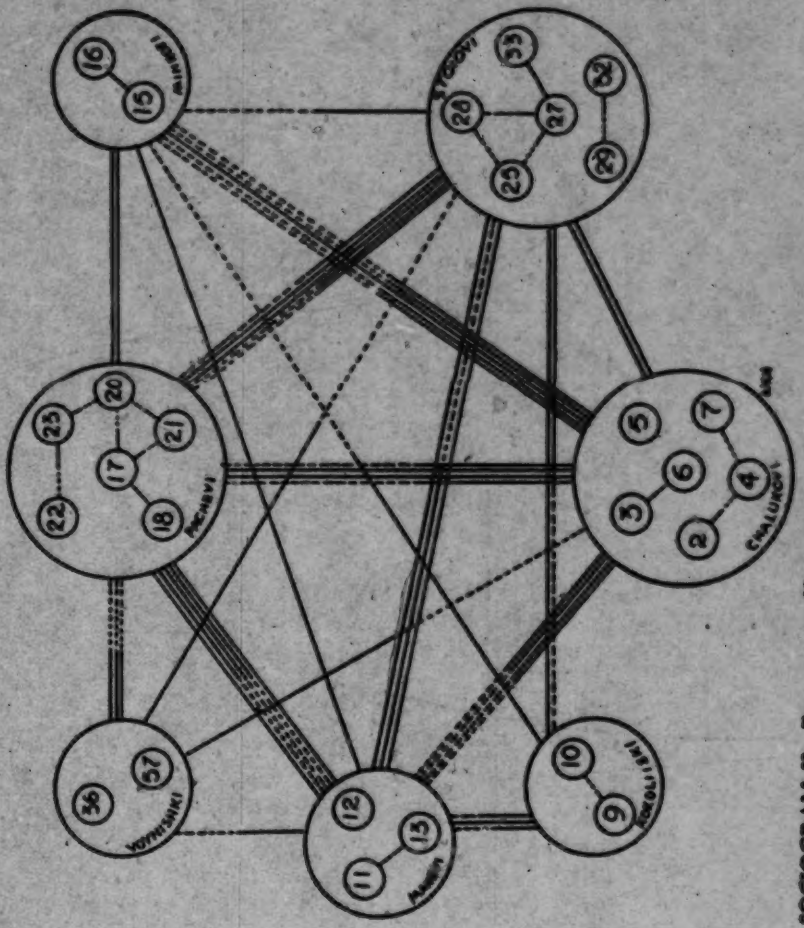

SOCIOGRAM II—EFFECTS OF KINSHIP ON CHOICE. Each cluster is made up of related individuals bearing the same family name. Lines between clusters show the number of times members of one cluster mentioned those in another cluster (first three choices).

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kinship group. That is, individuals who chose relatives chose those upon whom the group at large likewise placed approval. 476 571

Sociogram II likewise shows us the status of the different kinship clusters as far as the woodcutting activity is concerned. The Pachevi, Stoiovi, and Chalukovi, each consisting of six members, are comparable in size but received 16, 9, and 6 votes respectively. The other clusters, made up of two or three members, are similarly comparable but vary considerably: Voynishki, 1; Kokoliiski, 3; Minkovi, 10; Manevi, 15. The size of the cluster has little to do with the number of votes received; it is rather the popularity of certain individuals within the cluster which determines the voting. 554 602 157

My conclusions regarding the effect of kinship as far as this one group is concerned are: (1) the choices of unwanted individuals included a relative with whom they felt some security; (2) the persons chosen were usually those upon whom the group as a whole set its stamp of approval; and (3) family clusters can be said to have a status in the same sense that individuals do, and are rejected or mentioned favorably through the medium of the individuals comprising those clusters.

4: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

178 Instead of concentrating on the improvement of home-making and the en-
181 couragement of hygienic practices, which were their primary aims, they were also trying to change the women's meeting habits, or their ways of getting together. They insisted that the women leave their homes and come to the school for an artificially assembled meeting of a stiff, formal sort where they would be on the "receiving end," without the give-and-take of informal conversation to which they were accustomed.

As I sensed this difficulty I became convinced that the folkways already provided an avenue to the village women: namely, the *sedenka,* or "sitting," which is the name the villagers have given to the women's working groups.

574 THE SEDENKA.[1] Allegedly, the main purpose of the *sedenka* is to help some
● 476 woman card her fluffy, newly-washed wool or to help her spin some of the wool into thread. Actually, it is recreational as well, for the women thoroughly enjoy sharing the gossip, the songs, and the food which accompany such get-togethers. Although these *sedenki*[2] (pl.) seem at times to be hit-or-miss affairs, certain unwritten rules govern their activity. If a woman, for example, wants to have the help of her neighbors in carding her wool there are procedures she must follow.

1. She will select the guests quite carefully, inviting those who owe her work in kind or those to whose houses she wants to be invited when they card their wool. She rejects from the number those who cause ill-feeling, who stir up trouble, or who are at odds with each other. Similarly she rejects those whose houses she does not want to visit in a "return engagement" either because their food is poorly prepared or because they are dirty and slovenly in their housekeeping. At times she is prevailed upon by a close friend or a relative to invite some individual who is not popular enough to receive many invitations but who is anxious for the social intercourse that these occasions provide.

2. She will issue the invitations in the time-honored way. Although she may have seen two friends the evening before at the fountain and learned from them that they definitely plan to attend, she nevertheless goes to their homes before daybreak to call out in the crisp autumn air, "Anka, Anka." The dogs set up a terrific roar, and Anka finally appears at the door. "I'm having a *sedenka* today and I hope you can come." Anka accepts most graciously, while the walking alarm clock moves on to issue the next invitation.

3. She will prepare quantities of special food. There are certain dishes that are *sedenka* favorites. In the fall, one of these is *banitsa,* a soggy pumpkin pie two feet in diameter. A stew of beans or one of meat and vegetables is often popular.

4. She will see that the activities at the *sedenka* flow along normally. There must be enough of the comb-like affairs, long spikes set in a small

[1] [For additional material, see pp. 74-77, category 116--Analyst]

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574 476 wooden frame, through which the wool is drawn. The women in all parts of the room must be kept supplied with wool. Mealtimes must come at the prescribed intervals, and the good conversationalists must be urged to repeat some of the latest news, while those who consider themselves singers must be encouraged to start a song. And so the day passes. The women have arrived in the morning as soon as they completed their morning tasks, and they stay until midafternoon. At other times, however, a smaller group assembles in the evening for four or five hours of enjoyment and spinning.

521 Needless to say, these *sedenka* groups[2] are powerful agencies in the dissemination of news and in the formation of village opinion. After a day spent in one of these sessions a woman has a supply of "small talk" sufficient to last her for two or three days in conversations with those who did not attend this particular gathering.

000 GOOD EXTENSION PRINCIPLES AND THE SEDENKA. The specialist who uses a *sedenka,* whether especially arranged for her or not, would be following good educational and sociological practice.

1. *She would be bringing people together in a familiar environment:* that is, one of the village homes. There would not be the strangeness of the schoolroom nor the distractions of completely new surroundings. Instead of having to adjust to a new place and a new person (the speaker) the women would play the role of hostesses and expect the speaker to adjust to them.

2. *The people would already be accustomed to meeting with each other.* Any newly-formed group needs an exploratory period in which the bolder individuals try various things on the group to see what meets with favor and what with stony indifference or frank disapproval. In a *sedenka* group, people already know how their remarks and their questions will be received, which is a matter of much importance in a learning situation. Among people who do not know each other well an ill-advised laugh at a sincere question can kill the chances of a lively, helpful, wholehearted discussion. The congeniality of the group is further assured by the fact that the hostess is able to use a selective technique which weeds out the incompatibles. Fortunately, these "incompatibles" are usually compatible in other groups where they have much in common with their associates in these groups. Therefore, every village woman could be reached in some *sedenka* grouping.

3. *The demonstration agent could use the artifacts of the village home to good advantage.* As far as possible the demonstration should be built around what the women already have, for that is what they must use if they follow the speaker's suggestions. The average village home would not spend more than four or five dollars a year on furnishings, utensils, and the like, nor could one expect them to spend more than this out of the meager budget

[2] [cf pp 74-77, p. 261, category 11C -- Analyst]